A FULL

ANSWER

TO THE

Levellers Petition,

Presented to the

House of Commons,

On Munday Septemb. 11. 1648.

VVherein the divelliſh poyſon therein contained, is diſcuſſed throughout: By way of confutation of every materiall branch thereof.

Contrived for the ſatisfaction of all thoſe, who are not able to diſcover the danger of thoſe deſtructive and abominable Principles therein delivered: And to recall thoſe who are, or ſhall be miſled thereby.

By a Lover of Peace and Truth.

Pſal. 2. 1. *Why did the Heathen rage, and the people imagine a vain thing?*
Prov. 24. 21. *My ſon, feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.*
1 Cor. 14. 33. *God is not the author of confuſion, but of peace.*

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To the Reader.

Christian Brother,

IF thou believe that herein I have ſided too much with any Party, thou doeſt me wrong; for I have ever lookt upon the old rule, Amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas. *I will labour to defend no cauſe further, then I am perſwaded truth will beare me out; for that, I am aſſured, will prevaile at the laſt: Therefore I beſeech thee deal candidly and impartially with me, as I hope I have done with thee. That herein I am neither ſo large, nor exact as may be expected, I beſeech thee excuſe me, in that the publike Faſt did immediately ſucceed the delivery, or at leaſt publiſhing of this* titular Petition: *and ſome important buſineſſe hath taken me up ſince, ſo that I had little above a day to finiſh this peece for the Preſſe. Alſo the unworthineſſe of the ſubject matter in the ſaid Diſcourſe, or ill named Petition, hath cauſed me to be leſſe punctuall herein, then otherwiſe I ſhould have been. But this (I doubt not) may be ſufficient to help to remove ſo troubleſome an obſtacle, that it may not hinder ſo great, neceſſary, and hopefull a work as a* Perſonall Treaty: *which God of his infinite mercy bleſſe, proſper, and make ſucceſſefull; which ſhall be the daily prayer, of one who is wholly devoted*

To the ſervice of God and his Countrey.

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A brief and ſummary Confutation, of a divelliſh and diſorderly Paper, ſtiled,

The humble Petition of thouſands well-affected Perſons, inhabiting, &c.

THat great and grand Impoſter, never bewrayed his wants ſo much as now, in making uſe of ſuch weak and ſilly inſtruments, to ſet up his Kingdome; they having neither ſenſe to expreſſe, nor policy fitly to bring about, their impudent and ſhameleſſe levelling deſires, as is moſt manifeſt in that late publiſhed paper altogether repugnant, and diſcrepant both in Title, and Subſtance.

1. In Title, they calling it a Petition, whereas there is nothing therein petitioned; *and an Humble Petition*, where as it is extreme ſaucie, and Shiſmatical; ſaucie, reproving the King & the Lower Houſe thorowout: Shiſmaticall, in directing that which they ſo call a *Petition*, not to the *Parliament of England*, nor unto the *two Houſes*, but to *the Right Honourable the Commons of England aſſembled in Parliament* (altogether leaving out the upper Houſe) and throughout the whole body of their Petition, acknowledging the Lower Houſe the Supream Authority, of this Kingdome, *againſt both the Law of God, and the Land, and contrary unto both the Oath of Supremacie, and Alegeance*, as hath been ſufficiently proved unto all men but moderately rationall. But herein the upper Houſe may ſee, what followes from their own ſandie Principles; they have been content to maintain the two Houſes to be a Parliament, firſt without Biſhops, and afterwards without a King, contrary unto the Nature and Conſtitution of Parliaments, as they ſhould be by the great Charter of England, the Statute Lawes thereof, and the ancient fundamentall cuſtomes of our Nation; *and now the Levellers will have a Parliament without an upper Houſe, and all made fellowes at football.* But herein the wiſe Lords, might ſee if they had any eyes in their heads, how God hath brought it about, that their rebellion may come to be repayed in it's own coin; and if once their Lordſhips be got down, have at the now Honourable Commons next, they are now by the

politick Levellers ſet higheſt, that they may when time ſerves, be the more eaſily laid loweſt.

2. In ſubſtance, it is altogether differing from the title, therein being nothing petitioned; and thus it is a mere ſilly cobled Remonſtrance of their own aimes, and purpoſes; who thus call themſelves *Thouſands of well affected perſons*, therein proclaiming themſelves to be nothing but Independents; who indeavour by their numbers, being thouſands, and their own intereſt bloodguiltieneſſe, to bring on their deſignes: Concerning the former of theſe, if they were but ſober minded, they might remember Gods Prohibition, which is this, *Thou ſhalt not follow a multitude to do evill, neither ſhalt thou ſpeak in a cauſe, to decline after many, to wreſt Judgment*, *Exod.* 23. 2. and withall they might conſider, there are many more thouſands of wiſe, underſtanding, moderate, and religious Chriſtians throughout the Kingdome, which diſallow their folly.

The other thing whereby they ſhow their folly, in truſting to a broken ſtaffe, is their own intereſt, *bloodguiltineſſe*; which they call *ingaging on the Houſes part*, and as in their own words they confeſſe, was *againſt the King and his adherents*, which by the Law of God, and the Land makes them ſelfe-confeſſing Rebells, and Traitors; ſo that God at the great Parliament, of all Parliaments, the day of Doom, may ſay unto every one of them, thou art not onely *ex ore tuo*, but alſo *ex ſcripto tuo*, guilty of the ſaid deteſtable and damnable crimes.

But to the buſineſſe; it is ſo botch't, and patch't up, that there is nothing but baldneſſe and abruptneſſe in it; wherein in the very firſt words they would perſwade the world, that they are as earneſtly deſirous of a ſafe and well grounded peace, &c. as any ſort of men whatſoever, wherein they declare the weakneſſe and ſhallowneſſe of their Judgements, whilſt they do perſwade themſelves, and would others, that a ſafe and well grounded peace, may ſtand upon the bog and quagmire of diſorder and confuſion.

Next in the preface of their patchery, they ſeem to lay down the grounds of this their *manifeſto*, of which was touched but now; and thence they draw the ſum of their diſcourſe into three naſtie rotten branches.

1. *The ground and reaſon, which induced them to aid the honorable Houſe, againſt the King ad his Adherents.*

2. *What their apprehenſions are of the Treaty.*

3. *What they expected from the Houſe, and doe ſtill moſt earneſtly deſire.*

In

In the first, the ground and reason which induced them to aid the honorable House, against the King, and his Adherents; they command the lower Houses pleasure to understand them, *be pleased therefore to understand, &c.* A man would think such saucy peremptorinesse would have produced something worth notice; but it is nothing but the disorderly and unreasonable reasons of their ingagement, with the House against the King, drawn from three most unsound Arguments.

1. *Their own corrupt and erroneous judgement.*

2. *Their mis-apprehensions of manifold oppressions brought upon the Nation by the King, his Lords, and Bishops, &c.*

3. *The illegall and rebellious practice of the lower House.*

The first Argument, whereby they were induced to rebell against their King, was, because *they judged the lower House to be the supreme Authority of England, as chosen by, and representing the people, and intrusted with absolute power for redresse of grievances, and provision for safety, &c.*

1. They say they judged the lower House (*unto whom they would seem to direct a Petition*) to be the supreme Authority of England: Can there be anie greater errour in judgement then this? For let us look back who they are that judged this, do they not call themselves *Thousands of well-affected persons inhabiting the City of London, Westminster, &c?* Certainly then they must either all, or the greatest part of them be Freemen, who have taken the Oath of Allegiance, which tells them what is the supreme Authority of England? but theirs is a dangerous conscience, which is not sensible of perjury, whilst they obstinately persist therein.

They might also be informed by the Law of the Land, whereby we are to judge the supreme Authoritie thereof to remain, *Rex habet potestatem & Jurisdictionem super omnes qui in Regno suo sunt.* The King hath power and authoritie over all which are in his Kingdome, see Judg *Jenkins*, p. 7.

But they seem to be perswaded unto this opinion, because the *lower House is chosen by, and representing the people, and intrusted with absolute power for redresse of grievances, and provision for safety, &c.* which Position in the former part is only a meere Supposition, and therefore brings an untrue consequence along with it: their Supposition is this, that because in a legall Parliament the lower House are *chosen by, and representing the people*, therefore this is so; wherein they are much mistaken: for the Countrey ought to have a free choice

choice of their Knights of the Shire, and Burgeſſes of Parliament, which never was ſo free as ought to have been in this Parliament; but now the lower Houſe is filled with men unknown unto their Countrey, and therefore not being choſen by the people, they cannot repreſent the people.

This falſe Suppoſition begets another as untrue, which is, that *the lower Houſe being choſen by and repreſenting the people, are intruſted with abſolute power, &c.* which abſolute power they muſt either have, by right of inheritance, or by the Lawes of the Land, or they do derive the ſaid power from ſome other, upon the virtue of their Election.

1. *They may not attain unto this power, by right of inheritance,* becauſe they are to ſit there by the election of their Countrey, according unto Law.

2. *Not by the Law of the Land,* becauſe the Law of the Land gives this power unto none but the King.

3. *They do not derive the ſaid power from any other,* becauſe if ſo, it muſt be derived from either King or people.

1. It is not derived from the King, for he calls them onely to appear and attend the Parliament, *conſilium impenſuri,* to give advice, not to exerciſe anie abſolute power.

2. It is not derived from the people, becauſe they have no power at all; the chooſing the ſaid men by vertue of the Kings Writ, gives the people power to chooſe men qualified, according unto the Laws and Cuſtomes of the Land to ſit in Parliament, only to repreſent the grievances of the Kingdome unto the King, and the upper Houſe, and to adviſe with them concerning the ſame: but they cannot give them anie greater power, becauſe *nil dat quod non habet* is true in this caſe.

After followes upon theſe another moſt *Atheiſticall* Tenet, that they did judge *the King was but at the moſt a publike Officer of the Kingdome, and accountable to the Houſe (the repreſentative of the people, from whence all juſt Authority is, or ought to be derived) for diſcharge of his Office.* Here every word hath its poiſon, and to diſcover all therein would prove a tax too tedious, therefore I will rank them into three principall errors.

1. *That they thought the King at the moſt was but the chief publike Officer of the Kingdome.*

2. *That the King is accountable unto the lower Houſe for the diſcharge of his Office.*

3. *That*

3. *That all just Authority is or ought to be derived from the Representative of the people.*

First, that *the King at the most is but the publike Officer of this Kingdome*; herein is a great deal of serpentine and Jesuiticall policie, full of destructive poison unto all Monarchy; which they bring in most cunningly and covertly, by confounding of termes, and judging the King to be *most chiefe*, wherein they affirm his Supremacie, but this they presently take away again, by adding *publike Officer of the Kingdome*, as if his power were by the election and donation of the people, and not by right of inheritance, assured unto him by the Law of the Land.

The second errour is, that *the King is accountable unto the lower House, for the discharge of his Office*, contrarie unto the Word of God, which saith, *Is it fit to say to a King, thou art wicked? or to Princes, ye are ungodly?* Job.34.18. and *who dare say unto a King, what dost thou? Him God hath made supreme*, 1 *Pet.*2.13. and if he be supreme, unto whom shall he give an account of his Office, but unto him who hath made him so? which Exposition is made good by the Statute Law of the Land, *Ann.*16. *Rich.*2. *cap.* 5. *The Crowne of England hath been so free at all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject unto God in all things, touching the Regality of the same Crown, and to none other.*

The third error is, *that all just Authority is, or ought to be derived from the Representative of the People:* Herein they discover their own weakneſſe, concluding though somthing misteriously their old feares and jealousies.

Where it is as good as confessed, that all *just Authority*, is not in the Representative of the People, *but ought to be*; by which tenet they argue, either the established Law of the Land, or the lower House, or the upper House, or the whole Kingdome, or every of them, with the supreme authority over them to be unjust; a particular canvasing whereof would take up more time, then now I am willing to spend so idly: onely this; all just Authoritie is decided, and determined by the Law of the Land, which gives it unto the King, principally and originally; This is the principall matter, in the first argument of their ground and reason, which induced them to aid the Commons against the King and his Adherents: whereunto they adde a discovery of their mistakes, that had they not been confident that these errours had beene truthes, *they had beene desperately mad to have taken up Armes against the King: &c.* because the Lawes *of the Land make it expressely a crime no lesse then*

Treason.

Treaſon, &c. Wherefore now their ſureſt and ſafeſt way, ſeeing they begin to be ſomething leſſe hoodwinkt, is not to perſiſt in, but to recant and abandon their Errors, for we are ſure we have a merciſull God; and we have found a merciſull King.

The ſecond argument, which they ſay induced them to maintain a warre againſt the King, was the *conſideration of the manifold oppreſſions brought upon the Nation, by the King, his Lords, and Biſhops &c.* This argument breaths out a moſt audacious, and uncivill accuſation of both King, Church and Common-wealth at once; let it be granted that all herein ſaid were true; is it not a moſt inhumane and unchriſtian dealing, when we have an overture of peace, and reunion, to riſle old ſores, which will ſooner get a Gangrene then cure the wound, but may it be granted which is there ſaid, thoſe manifold oppreſſions, (lying now raked in & covered with numberleſſe cruelties and outrages, of bloody Armies, mercileſſe Sequeſtrators, unconſcionable Excize men, moſt tyranicall and arbitrarie Committee men, with infinite Locuſts more) are of two ſorts; either by the King or his Officers, thoſe by the King were few, the chiefeſt of all being Shipmoney and Monopolies, whereunto his Majeſty was driven by the unnaturall dealing of his Subjects, who of late yeares were grown ſo factious and rebellious, that Parliaments did not proceed legally, as in former times, but would ever be putting him upon unreaſonable termes, before Subſidies would be granted, which compelled him to find out and make uſe of an extraordinarie courſe for his ſupply, all which he willingly and freely took away this Parliament; which were more then ſufficient unto any man, but wiſe and moderate,

The faults imputed upon his Subjects are of two ſorts, either of Eccleſiaſticall, or civill perſons; thoſe of Eccleſiaſticall perſons are partially by heapes thrown upon the Biſhops; whom in all things I dare not vindicate, yet Chriſtian charity, and experience cauſeth me to ſay thus much of them, that there was too fatall a diviſion in the Clergie of our Kingdome, which riſe from ſeverall *geniuſſes* and diſpoſitions which were two prevalent in this Nation, which may be reduced unto theſe heads: *the Court Faction, the Popular Faction, and a religious party*: *the Court Faction*, that laboured more after wealth, riches, honour, preferment, and the like, laying aſide a wholſome care for Chriſts flock. *The Popular Faction*; that ſtood in oppoſition thereunto, and did fall ſo low, that they laboured after nothing ſo much as to *pleaſe the people*, and thereby forgot to pleaſe God,

God, which antipathy betwixt theſe parties falling out in an age, wherein many lovers of truth with as much induſtrie as ever, and with more moderation then formerly, looking into the reformation, found the ſame through the heat of oppoſition, to have left out ſomethings advantagious to Gods Church; in proſecution whereof ſome unuſuall tenets and Ceremonies of indifferencies were received into the Church, which being conſcientiouſly maintained by the BB are now attributed unto them for oppreſſion; The manifold oppreſſions brought upon this Nation, by the Lords Civill as well as ſpirituall, were all remedied by this preſent Parliament, if the Kingdomes Truſtees, had ſhowed themſelves right Patriots, in contenting themſelves with the good of the people when it was well, theſe therefore were nothing but *miſapprehenſions of danger, where none was*, which had they been reall and upon good grounds, could not have taken of that infamie, of treaſon and rebellion in any one maintaining war againſt their Soveraign: which (wherof they are ſenſible) is concluded by the Law of the Land. Upon this ground they caſt a moſt cruell and inhumane ſlander upon his gratious Majeſtie, and his government; ſuggeſting unto the world, that his Majeſtie had a purpoſe by force of Arms to continue oppreſſion, whereas *taking up of Arms for the defence of that Law and his ſacred Perſon is maintenance not diſſolution of Government.*

After this they bring in another addition unto their argument; which is this, *that the ſafety of the People is above Law*, which miſconſtrued maxime I will not here meddle with onely, it cannot plead for their warring againſt the King. Becauſe orderly and obedient Subjects were in no danger, though hereby they would ſeem to make up ſomething thence, by a Jeſuiticall and nonſenſicall diſtinction, betwixt the Supreme Authoritie and the Supreme Magiſtrate, which are inſeparable: what ſucceeds in this Argument is ſufficiently anſwered in the former. *The third Argument*, which drive them into rebellion, is the *illegall and rebellious practiſe of the Lower Houſe*, which needs no further anſwer then this, *vivitur lege non exemplo*, we are to live by law and not example; except we will look a little further upon the unjuſt & illegall dealing of the Lower Houſe, with his Majeſtie, and the Law of the Land, *denying him to be judge of ſafety, and taking away his Negative voice; excluding the King from having any ſhare in the Supreme Authority*, whereby they are tranſgreſſours of the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Common Law of the Kingdome; again they would ſeem to make Biſhops, an eſſentiall part of Supreme

Authority *by tradition*; whereas they are so by the fundamentall Law of the Nation: all herein worth notice is, that they do show the illegall and unjuſt proceedings of the lower Houſe from their own principles, and practices.

What ſucceeds in the firſt branch of their titular petition; is onely a publication of their own miſtakes, vain opinions and ungrounded hopes; which are ſufficiently anſwered in what hath been ſaid in anſwer unto their ſeverall argumentes. Thus I have done with the firſt branch of their diſcourſe, now to the ſecond, which is *what their Apprehenſions are of a Treaty*: wherin are heaps of durt, and that ſo numerous, as it is very troubleſome medling, yet ſomething ſhall be done therein: and thus we may diſcover *their complaints, and their feares*; *their complaints* 1. *Of the lower Houſe.*

2. *Of their own danger.*

In the former of theſe, they proclaime their exceeding grief, upon their obſervation of the Commons, their *ingratitude towards God, who hath given them victory, thereby inabling them to put the whole Nation into an abſolute condition of Freedome, and Safety*; wherein they deceive themſelves in their own principle, which is this, that God having given victorie unto Rebells and Traitors, approves their actions, which way of arguing would ſet up *Mahomet*, and pull downe *Chriſt* in the moſt part of the world, and would pull down the Reformed Churches, and ſet up Papiſtrie in the greateſt part of Chriſtendome, witneſſe Ireland; beſides if they would conſider this aright, they might remember the Pſalmiſt tells us, that *God ſets the wicked in ſlippery places*: but God give all men that are but morall, much more profeſſors of the Goſpell, grace to obſerve what crueltie theſe well-affected people breath out, and what bloodie mindedneſſe they belch abroad into the world, in accuſing the Commons *for an accuſtomed paſſing by the ruine of the Nation, and all the blood hath been ſpilt by the King and his party*; intimating thereby moſt inhumanely, and unchriſtianlike, that there can for this Nation, be no attaining unto the Haven of freedome and ſafetie, but through the innocent blood, of their true and naturall Soveraigne, with his faithfull Subjects; which wicked and cannibell intentions, God of his infinite mercie deſtroy, and prevent, that England may never more be guiltie of ſuch horrid crimes.

Next they accuſe their Gods *the lower Houſe*, for betaking themſelves to a Treatie with His Majeſtie. O hideous wretches! is there anie other viſible meanes left for peace and accommodation? Doe

you not ſee the Kingdome thorough their ruines brought unto an uproare, which will never be appeaſed but by the reſtitution of his Majeſtie, whereunto a Treatie is the ſureſt and ſafeſt preparation: but this is it which they are too ſenſible of, now their eyes begin to be open, and they ſee how they are guiltie of the breach of the Law of the Land, and they who have ſo long bragged and boaſted of their fear of God are now in a ſlaviſh fear of man; but know they this, that though for a time they may eſcape the hand of man, yea and that though our gracious King, which I know he is willing to doe, give them all pardons, yet except they repent, they cannot eſcape the judgement of the Almighty: for ſhame therefore let them cry out no longer *the Law of the Land, and the Law of the Kingdome,* and the like, but cry out of themſelves, in that they *have by their treaſon and rebellion tranſgreſſed the Law of God, who is King of Kings*, and let them not for the ſafety of a few private men, prefer the ruine of a glorious Kingdome, before the peace and union thereof.

See theſe weak and falſe principles wherewith they ſeem to underprop this falling and tottering conceit againſt a Treaty, *becauſe the ruine of the Nation, and the blood that hath been ſpilt, hath been cauſed by the King, and his party*; for ſo they ſpeake almoſt *totidem terminis*: good people take up your ſenſes againe, and then judge whether the breakers or maintainers of eſtabliſhed Lawes, are the cauſe of the ruine of a Nation, and the blood-ſhed therein; and then your conſciences muſt needs tell you, that you and your party, and not the King and his party, are the ſole inſtruments whereby thoſe your ſad complaints have been effected.

Again you complaine againſt the lower Houſe, *for putting one that is but one ſingle perſon, and a publike Officer of the Common-wealth, in competition with the whole Body of the people*; whereas if this Parliament were the exacteſt and compleateſt Repreſentative, that ever was in England, it is prepoſterous for them to ſtand in competition with him; though you falſly account *them the ſupreme Authority of the Kingdom*, you are therein far from the truth; for His Majeſtie is the ſupreme Power of the Kingdome, whereunto every man ought to ſweare in the Oath of Supremacie, the words are theſe: *I A B doe teſtifie, and from my conſcience declare, that the Kings Majeſtie is the onely ſupreme Governour of this Kingdome, and all other his Majeſties Dominions and Territories, as well in all ſpirituall, or eccleſiaſticall matters and cauſes, as temporall, &c.*

Which Oath every man now ſitting in the two Houſes of Parlia-

ment hath taken, therefore their ſtanding in competition with their Soveraigne, whoſe Supremacy they have ſo ſolemnly ſworne, and unto whom they have ſworne Allegiance, proclaimes them unto all the world guiltie of traiterous and rebellious perjury, and theſe titular Petitioners do clearly bewray their corrupt, and unchriſtian minds, by ſpeaking ſo irreverently, and unworthily of their rightfull Soveraigne, calling him a *ſingle man, and publike Officer, &c.* as a man of the leaſt conſideration in the Kingdome.

What followes in this part, their complaint of the lower Houſe, diſcloſes their ill-will unto Monarchy, and Kingly Government, which conſidering what hath been hitherto ſaid in the like caſe is not worth anſwer.

In their complaint of their own danger, they ſhow us how and which way they were miſled, they took falſe principles which have deceived them, whereas if they had but remembred their rudiments of Grammar, they might have called unto mind the old example *Inſipientis eſt dicere non putaram*. I wil leave the Engliſh unto their Schoolboies: ſtill they run upon the old ſtrain, *they have oppoſed their King in defence of the lower Houſe its Supreme Authority*: is not this wilfull obſtinate ignorance; will not the ſame law of the Land, (which to uſe their own terms, *makes it expreſſely a crime no leſſe then treaſon for any to raiſe warre againſt the King*;) tell them where the ſupreme Power is: but this their raſh undertakeing, and their forwardneſſe in thus declaring themſelves to have run into innocent bloodſhed, upon theſe grounds, is another warrant to aſſure them it muſt be thus: I am glad there are ſuch pangs within, it may pleaſe God they may produce good effects, for *they deem themſelves in the moſt dangerous conditition of all others, left without all plea of indempnity for what they* have done; (oh it workes, this is a verie good ſymptom) they may become honeſter long; it is true *many of their Aſſociates have already loſt their lives and liberties, for things done or ſaid againſt the King, the Law of the Land frequently taking place, and precedencie againſt and before the Authority of the lower Houſe*, their eſteem whereof to be ſupreme cannot make it ſo, but that againſt it the Law of the Land ought to be pleaded: the Law of the Land is the ſafety of the people, and if ever they will injoy themſelves and their livelihoods, they muſt recover their Lawes, and though they will condemn theſe *titular Petitioners*, yet we have a mercifull King, who will and can give them pardon if they will have the grace to ask it, which is a ſure way, but their depending of the ſupreme authoritie of the lower Houſe is *a broken reed which will pierce*

through

their hands: and whereas they ſeem to be ſomething conſcious, that they cannot be exempt from the *guilt of Murderers, and Robbers*, if the lower Houſe perſiſt to diſclaim their ſupreme Authority, they herein aggravate their fault in labouring to perſwade the lower Houſe to claim title unto that which is none of their own, neither will conſcience be able to acquit and juſtifie any for cruelty and unjuſtice, ſuch as is that which they call *Murder and Robberie*, and their attributing of ſupreme Authoritie due or belonging unto the lower Houſe, neither will this plea hold, that *they have oppoſed none but manifeſt tyrants, Oppreſſours and their adherents*. If they have oppoſed any other, then whom they thus judge, I leave them to be their own judges, by their own principles: but on the other ſide, under the names of manifeſt *Tyrants, Oppreſſors, and their adherents*; againſt ſome they have made oppoſition; which can be againſt none but their lawfull King; which they confeſſe is treaſon by the Law of the Land, except as ſhould ſeem they do ſuppoſe in theſe caſes mentioned, wherein they fall upon two dangerous errours.

1. *That it is lawfull to reſiſt a Tyrant, and Oppreſſour*: which is directly againſt the word, and Law of God, for there cannot be found greater Tyrants and miſcreants upon the Earth, then were *Tiberius, Claudius, Caligula, and Nero*, all which lived in the times of Chriſt or his Apoſtles; yet did none of them give either precept or example, for reſiſtance or oppoſition to any of them; therefore had his Majeſtie been a Tyrant it had not been lawfull for them, or any of his Subjects, to have maintained warre againſt him.

2. The ſecond errour is, *that his Majeſty hath been a Tyrant*, which is a moſt ſhameleſſe ſlander, for there cannot be a Tyrant, but either in his *coming to governe*; *or in his manner of governing*; he cannot be the former; for his greateſt enemies never yet had the impudence to avouch it, neither can he be the latter becauſe that is a governing contrarie unto Law, whereof he is altogether guiltleſſe, for he hath ever governed by Law.

This whole part of this titular Petition, *what their apprehenſions of a perſonall Treaty are*, contains nothing but complaints, *though I call it their feares*, becauſe theſe complaints are full of thoſe *old feares and Jealouſies*; and therefore they are verie much affrighted with a Treaty; holding it altogether unfit, becauſe as they pretend, it hath been cried up Principally by ſuch as have been alwaies diſaffected unto the lower Houſe, wherein all the world may ſee their apteneſſe to prejudice other men, for was it not firſt moved and cried for, by their brethren the Scots, who had entred into Covenant with them to execute

cruelty,

cruelty, & are not the Presbyterians as active therein as any?

And if the lower House were guiltlesse and innocent, have they need or sufficient cause to fear the issue of a personall Treaty? there being none to deale therein on that partie, which they account oppositte, but a wise, loving, gracious, and mercifull King, assisted by wise, meek, learned, moderate men, who prefer the common good before their owne. *And the Treaties being accompanied with underhand-dealing*, is more to be feared on the lower Houses part, who are raising force in every County in England, then the Kings party, who are ruined unto nothing. *And for an alteration in the King and his party*, what may anie rationall man expect? seeing they at first took the Word of God, and the Law of the Land for their rule, and the good of Church and Common-wealth for their aime, which hath caused them with *manly fortitude and Christian patience, by the assistance of God and a good conscience, honorably to suffer all injuries, yea even death it selfe.*

Their consideration of this, that *the present force upon his Majesty will in time to come be pleaded against all that can or shall be agreed upon*, is the effect of unjust dealings, when men have so intangled themselves in mischief, that they know not how to wind out thence.

It is true indeed, those great provocations the King hath (and that most basely and injuriously) received from the two Houses, might were he of an unregenerate temper, be somwhat: but all but cruelty which believes there is no mercy, may safely trust to his clemency, he is not of that fiery revengefull spirit, that most of his Predecessors have been of.

These new warres, risings and revoltings, invasions and plottings, which have been since the last cry for a personall Treaty, have been acted in such an humble way of petitioning, that the two Houses might therein see the Kingdomes desire of accommodation, betwixt his Majestie and them, which cannot be effected without the said Treaty, the want whereof must most certainly increase *repining, grudgings, murmurings, and complanings amongst the people, which ought rather to perswade unto a personall Treaty, and not to disswade therefrom.*

And as for those victories which the Army hath obtained, they ought to be considered *quo jure*, by what right, and *quo modo*, in what manner they were mannaged, then *quo effectu*, by what effect this may give false judgement in such a case.

This wonderfull piece endeth this dolefull part with a *profest wonder and amazement*, to consider the inevitable danger these *titular Petitioners are in, though all things in the Propositions were agreed unto*, because of the resolutions of the King and his party; wherein they display

play how conſcious they are of the wrongs and injuries done unto them, whom they ſo much fear, accounting them as revengefull as themſelves, and thereby labour moſt impiouſly to diſſwade their great Lords and Maſters from all confidence in His Majeſty: but I pray God it may be, that we may have no *more irregular licentious tyrannicall and uſurping two Houſes*, but I wiſh and hope we may have many glorious, and free well-regulated Parliaments.

The third and laſt branch of this their *ſimular Petition* is, *when they expelled from the Houſe, and do ſtill earneſtly deſire*, in the delivering whereof they pretend a great deale of ſeeming reluctancy, as if they were inforced thereunto, which *deſires being granted, they are confident would have given ſatisfaction unto all ſerious people of all parties*, which is but their fond conceit, they not being able to give ſatisfaction, unto any wiſe man who will be ſubject unto the reines of Government, and love the Common-good above his private intereſts, as is clear in their immediately ſucceeding deſires, which they have reduced unto 27. headleſſe and ſenſleſſe heads, upon each whereof to ſpeak in particular, requireth more time then ſuch ſtuffe is worth. wherein the Levellers croſſe their own Principles: having much laboured to ſettle *ſupreme Authority in the lower Houſe*, now they take it unto themſelves by their making of Laws and unalterable Decrees, which in the end would bring the lower Houſe to give an account of their actions unto theſe our new Law-givers, as well as his Majeſty and Nobilitie unto the Houſe of Commons.

But to the buſineſſe: In the four firſt of their deſires, they labour to bring all Law, Order and Government into ſuch a *confuſed Chaos*, that both Church and Common-wealth thereupon muſt needs fall into its own ruin, by taking away all Negative voices in the King and Lords, which would prove a gap to let in all miſchief, an earneſt whereof we have had by too deare experience, their directions therein likewiſe practiſed, would bring in all licentious and arbitrarie liberty both in Church and Common-wealth, which is not onely contrarie unto the revealed will of God, but would prove deſtructive unto all men therein.

In the four next are they abſolute Levellers, labouring to make *Kings, Queens, Princes, Dukes, Earles, and Lords*, with themſelves fellowes at football, and equall unto the pooreſt Peaſant, a deſire againſt all Law, and preſident of all Countries and Ages.

In the four next which are the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of their deſires, they run on in the ſame ſtrain, only they deſire well, in the eleventh and twelfth, which is that *all Exciſe may be aboliſhed, and that all incloſures of Fens, and other Commons ſhould be laid* open, or incloſed onely and chiefly, to the *benefit of the poore*, whoſe Patrimonie they are.

In

In the four next, they much discover their ignorance, and weaknesse in desiring those things for which the Law hath, either altogether, or for the most part provided a remedie, if they were put in execution: but in the sixteenth of their desires they belch out their impiety, against both God and man, in robbing the Church of her right, and portion, by moveing a repeal of both the Law of God, the Law of Nature, and the Land, for the paiment of Tithes.

In the four next of their desires, which are the seventeenth eighteenth nineteenth and twentieth, they desire that from the lower House, which is far above both their authority power and ability: therefore we will let them passe.

In their 21.22.23.and 24 desires they would perswade the lower House unto all cruelty, and injustice, against Religion, reason and Humanity; except in the 22. wherein they desire the abolishing of all Committees, which is not onely justice, but necessary for the good of the whole Kingdome.

In the three last, they go on in their naturall strain of selfe seeking, hoping to beget their own security, by most bloody and barbarous cruelty executed upon others, whose inhumane desires may be answered by any who have but the least tincture of reason and honesty, wherefore I forbear them, any one but rightly understanding, what hath been hitherto said in this kind, being sufficiently able to give answer thereunto.

After this they relate the old and many hopes, and come neerest unto a Petition, yet fall short in making it but an *earnest desire, that the lower House would set themselves speedily to effect* the ruine of themselves, and the whole Nation, by a new found way of levelling, colouring the same with some vain idle and Triviall pretences and promises, presumptuously concluding a few giddie brained Levellers, to be the People of the Land, and the main strength thereof. Thus they end, *taking Gods name in vain, by praying that he may be their guide in most cruell, bloody, destructive, and unwarrantable waies.*

Thus I have done, only I wish that all true Christians may heartily and earnestly pray unto God, *to turn and amend their hearts, so as they may truly and seasonably see the sinfulnesse of their waies, and the vanity and destruction which attends such ungodly indeavours, so as now at last they may betake themselves unto such good and sound principles, as may bring peace unto our almost destroyed Kingdome, and stand in the day of triall, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made knowne; and that he may grant this, and all other things which are or shall be necessary, for the happinesse and salvation of them and us, and all the elect, in the name and for the merits of Christ Jesus, to whom be all Honour, Glory, Power, Praise, Might, Majesty, and Dominion, from hence forward, and for evermore.* Amen.

Septemb. 19. 1648.

FINIS.